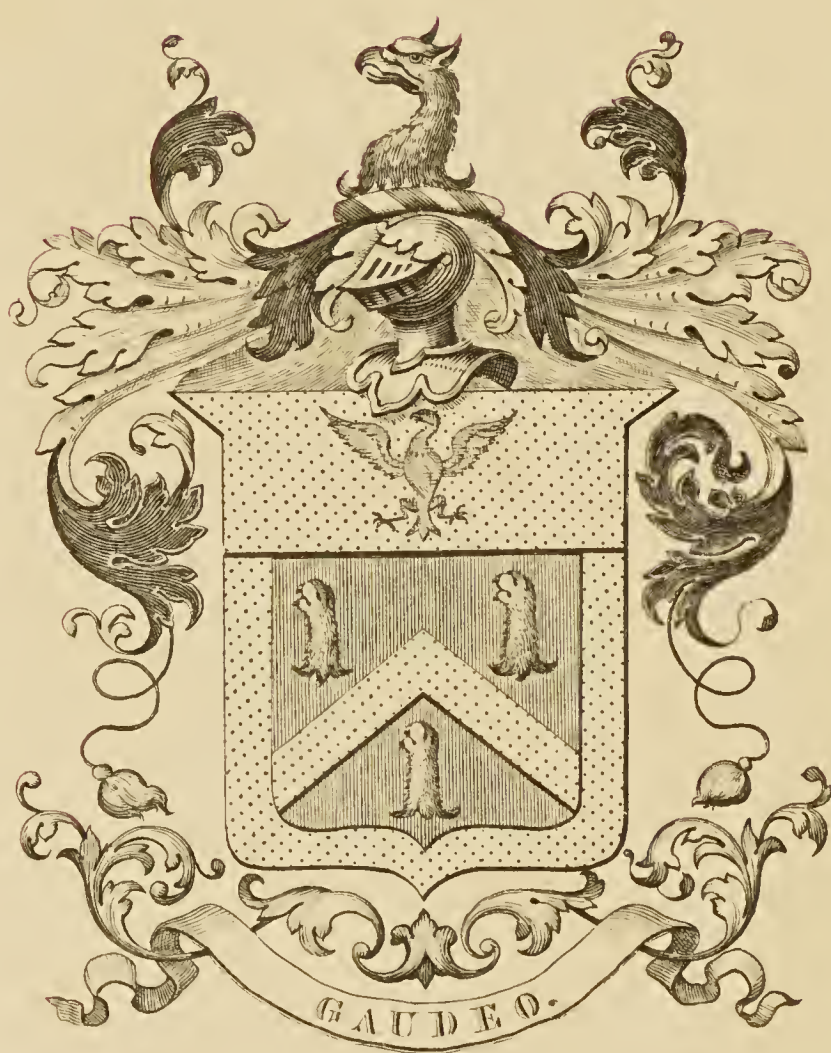






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John Carter Brown.





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The date should be 1773;  
see other copy -



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THE  
ADVANTAGES  
OF A  
SETTLEMENT  
UPON THE  
OHIO  
IN  
NORTH AMERICA.

Printed for J. RIDLEY, Bookseller, St. James's-Street.  
MDCCCLXIII.



To the Hon. Secy of the Navy

Washington

Dear Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge

the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst.

and in reply to inform you

that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities

for their consideration



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T H E

ADVANTAGES, &c.

**T**HE author of the following sheets proposes to consider a question at present much agitated, that of a settlement upon the Ohio, and the advantages to England of extending our frontier in North-America ; a late step towards which having been perhaps too hastily censured in conversation and print, a few reasons that have occurred from some reading and reflexion, are here offered to prove, that it is not only a good, but a necessary measure at the present juncture. In the course of this enquiry, the present state of our American colonies, the evils and dissensions we have lately experienced, will present themselves, and we shall possibly be able to discover the

B

means



means of remedying the past and preventing the future.

The English colonies are now confined within the Apalachean Mountains, a space not two hundred miles broad, and to lands certainly not so fruitful as those upon the Ohio and Missisipi. Upon the banks of the latter river, the French may in time become so very powerful, as to render our plantations beyond the mountains precarious, unless we exert ourselves, and settle those lands with the same spirit and rapidity as we have our other colonies. That these lands are particularly deserving our careful attention, and that a diligent cultivation of them will reward the settlers, we have all the reason in the world to be assured of; besides the advantages of such an attempt in a political view; the objects of trade with the Indians, and the great probability of finding mines; I mean not of gold and silver, those *irritamenta malorum*; but of iron, copper, lead and coal, which, the three first especially, may become branches of industry: Leave Spain to dig gold. For, according to  
that



that observation of Mr. Locke, it will only remain with the careful and industrious.

The first question, or point of inquiry is, the importance of a settlement upon the Ohio; the consequence of which is not unnoticed by the French, as appears from F. Charlevoix.

\* “ This river, at its entrance into the Mississipi, is not less than a quarter of a league in breadth ; there is not, in my opinion, a place more proper for a settlement than this, nor where it is of greater importance for us to have one : the whole country, watered by the Ohio, is extremely fertile, consisting of vast meadows, which feed thousands of buffaloes. A fort, with a good garrison, would keep the Indians in awe, especially the Cherokees, who are the most numerous nation upon this continent.”

The thought of a settlement upon the Ohio, at its conflux with the Mississipi, actually occurred to me before reading

\* Vol. 2. Page 241.



F. Charlevoix, who says, "to keep the Indians in awe," and I say, build a fort there on the part of the English, to keep the French and their Indians in awe; for, however strong we may be, since the last war, by possessing that chain of French forts which were upon this river, there is no reason we should not be stronger by erecting a new fort at the mouth of the Ohio, the consequences of which will appear perhaps much greater, when we come to speak of trade with the western Indians.

If we look a little beyond this river towards the Mississipi, we shall find another reason for extending our frontier. The French well know of what great moment to them is their colony of Louisiana. The same father observes;\* "Our alliance with the Illinois has set us at variance with the Chicasaws, and the English of Carolina blow up the diffention. Our settlement in Louisiana is a great eye-sore to them, as it is a barrier we have placed between their powerful colonies of North America and Mexico, and we must expect they will em-

\* Vol. 2. Page 243.



ploy every method in their power to destroy it. The Spaniards, who see us with so much jealousy strengthen ourselves in this country, are not as yet sensible of the important service we hereby render them." Here it may be said, that the events of the last war have materially altered the face of affairs to the northward; but the strength of the French, notwithstanding, may in time become very respectable to the southward; for by contracting their view they may the more sedulously apply to their affairs upon the Mississippi, in a country abounding with resources unknown in Canada, consequently become stronger than ever they were in that country.

Another writer upon this subject is Du Pratz, who was sixteen years in these parts.\* "The lands to the east of the Mississippi (this takes in all to the northward up to the Wabache or Ohio) are high lands; the soil of these high lands is very good; it is a black light mold, about three feet deep upon the hills or rising grounds.† This

\* Vol. I. page 179. † Vol. I. page 265.



upper earth lies upon a reddish clay, very strong and stiff: all these high lands are generally meadows and forests of tall trees, with grafs up to the knees:\* these meadows all abound in buffaloes, elk and deer; moreover, these high lands naturally produce mulberry-trees of a good quality for filk-worms; indigo grows there in like manner along the thickets, without culture." One astonishing instance of fertility, though to the southward of the Ohio, I must beg leave to add.† " An inhabitant of New Orleans planted in his garden a few twigs of a Muscadine vine, with a view to make an arbour of them; one of his sons with another boy, a negro, entered the garden in the month of June, when the grapes are ripe, and broke off all the bunches they could find; the father, after severely chiding the two boys, pruned the twigs that had been broken and bruised; and as several months of summer still remained, the vine pushed out new shoots and new bunches, which ripened and were as good as the former.

\* Vol. 1. page 265. a † Vol. 2. page 14.



Here it may be said by many, what has the fertility of Louisiana to do with the Ohio, the present object of our enquiry? It is foreign to the purpose. We must beg their pardon; these instances are brought purposely to shew, what may be expected from the French possessing such a country; a country which only wants hands to make us feel the influence it will give them in North America; for the western banks of the Mississippi remained to the French by the peace in 1763. We maintain, therefore, that the nearer you get to these good lands, the sharper eye you may be able to keep upon your neighbour's motions: for, as in war the more advanced posts you have the better, provided one covers the other; so in the present question, the nearer we get to the Mississippi, the greater advantage we shall draw, by degrees, from these lands, at least from a portion of them; and surely such settlements, as we shall at first make upon the Ohio, may be said to be well covered with all our colonies at their back. The river itself, Du Pratz says, meaning the Ohio, is beautiful, greatly



ly abounding in fish, and navigable almost up to its source.\*

These accounts are confirmed by our own people, who were sent by the government of Virginia, in 1742, to view these, the western parts of that province, and altho' they only went down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans, they reported, that they saw more good land upon the Mississippi, and its large branches, than, in their opinion, was in all the English colonies as far as they are inhabited. This appears by the report of that government to the Board of Trade. The salubrity of the climate is unquestioned, a thing of the last consequence in these southern parts of North America; many of which are much otherwise, as witness the Floridas.

Here is the concurrent testimony of many persons of credit, who have viewed the very spot; each speaks of this part of North America in the highest terms; and lastly, another admirable argument of the good-



ness of the country is the many Jesuits missions there were in it before the expulsion of the society ; for light is not clearer than those golden lines of Butler are true, That

No Jesuit ever took in hand,  
To plant a church in barren land.

We are now to prove, why it greatly concerns us to settle in this part of the continent of North America : we have already heard what the French think of it. The numbers in Virginia, tho' the oldest colony we have, are allowed by all, I believe, to be trifling in proportion to its extent of country, and in comparison with the populousness of our northern settlements : Indeed I could not help observing myself, when I was in that country, that the plantations lay very wide, and the towns still wider.\* And perhaps it is not less certain, that if you

\* Yet thinly as Virginia is peopled, I think it is Dr. Mitchel says in his account of the Present State of Great Britain and North America, " The planters of Virginia and Maryland had wanted new lands beyond the mountains, and had carried their slaves there to cultivate tobacco."



go as far to the southward as our governments at present extend, they will be found still thinner of people : but these may encrease ; they are already settled ; it only remains to give them a strong barrier. It is now as necessary that we should strengthen our frontier towards the French upon the Missisipi, as it was expedient that our force should be opposed to the same nation in Canada before the last war ; but as that opposition confined the inhabitants within the towns, or constrained them to remain in collected bodies, cultivation must have been neglected by as many as remained in this state ; that cause ceasing by the alterations made by the last peace and the cession of Canada to us, these people it is now equal policy to remove to the southward, that they may be dispersed upon plantations, and become of more advantage to themselves and mother country, than at present, pretending to some degree of rivalry.

Thus much then for the importance of a settlement to us upon the Ohio, from the nature of its soil, which may doubtless be pronounced



pronounced worthy of our notice, and from the expediency of such a step to guard against any mischiefs, which may arise in future from the power of the French in these parts. It next follows to consider how far the measure is right from motives of policy with regard to our present colonies.

I know it is said, we should cultivate the wastes we have at home, here in England\*,

\* As to cultivating the wastes of England indeed, I am thoroughly persuaded it would be a most salutary measure; the difficulty is to hit upon a right method of effecting it; till this can be done, we may in the mean time look across the great lake, as the Indians call the Atlantic.

There was a proposal made years ago to the lord treasurer Godolphin, for peopling the New Forest with poor inhabitants of the palatinate; how this scheme came to prove abortive I know not; possibly the number of foreigners in one collected body might be seen with a jealous eye, and very properly.

But there is one grand objection to enclosing, which has often presented itself to me, and that is the total disregard of the rights of the poor cottagers in the distribution of the lands; they never have their proportions, and therefore it may be a very great evil: "*Sacerrima res homo miser.*" History records dreadful confusions and tumults among the Romans occasioned by their agrarian laws; the people were ever crying out for more just distribution of the lands: Heaven avert such among ourselves!



in preference to those in America; that we cannot spare settlers from hence; that our numbers decrease, which however has not as yet been clearly proved; that we have more lands in America already than we know what to do with. These and many other such like positions, seem rather futile, and to be advanced with no mature consideration. With respect to inhabitants for new lands, we shall find enough without depopulating Britain, as we are told, and are referred to Spain as an instance of the detriment of Colonies; which instance will appear to carry in it no force, if we consider a little the two nations as diametrically opposite: The one neglecting the culture of the earth at home, the other laboriously following it; that disdaining manufactures, this sedulously applying to them; Spain banishing their industrious Moors,\* because

\* The Moriscoes, or Moors of Grenada and the parts adjacent, to the number of 900,000 persons of all ranks, sexes and ages, in the reign of Philip III. this was one of the most dangerous mistakes in politics recorded in history; these parts of Spain, from being the best cultivated in the kingdom, consequently most valuable, are become a desert.



bad catholics, Britain receiving all nations with open arms. Add to these three causes of depopulation, the mines of Mexico and Peru: the three first are but as rivulets compared with the latter, which like a torrent has swept all before it: this instance then, it is hoped, will be advanced no more: but at present we do not want to take them from home.

The colonies of New York, and the other nothern settlements, particularly Boston, abound in men: now to divert them from employing themselves in manufactures and the corn trade, our staple commodities, they should, by proper encouragement, be induced to form new colonies, where they may not only find employment, but perhaps even fortunes; for we know that such as want to make money, go to the southward. Men will be employed in good or mischief, they can not be idle: the mischief these colonies are able to do the mother country has been in some measure already experienced; to prevent the exten-

tion



tion of which, make it their interest to change their habitations.

It was the constant practise of the Greeks in all their colonies, to thin the branches of the growing tree, and check its luxuriance ; the first colony sent out a second, when they became troublesome among themselves, and dispersed them in new and distant habitations, like bees which send out a swarm and a cast, when their hives are overstocked. Whether this was the effect of chance or policy in the Greeks, is not material to determine ; but with us it more intimately concerns our well doing, that it should be the effect of design : for should we hazard much, were we to assert, that the attention due to our colonies becomes every day of greater and greater consequence ? We here see a perpetual fund of natural born subjects, not to mention the prodigious numbers of German Protestants, who are continually passing into America, and the additional numbers, which I am assured by Germans, may now be had, owing to the very bad harvests they have reaped.



reaped for some years, especially the rye, and the dreadful diseases in consequence of eating it, when it has the spur: such are the inducements which occasion those poor, honest and worthy people, very willingly to emigrate to our government in North America.

We have scions then in abundance, and surely we never can want stocks to graft them upon, within that prodigious extent of country beyond the mountains. Thus far, it is to be hoped, are obviated all objections drawn from the supposition of harm, which may accrue to ourselves from diminishing the inhabitants of our own Island.

Here, if I might be permitted to suggest what government and policy should be employed in watching over colonies, I would express it in two words, *interest and dependence*. Now these two ought to be so intimately connected, as to be inseparable; and to accomplish such a union, and preserve it, what expedient so likely as that of giving each colony some staple commodity by which  
they



they are to make their return to you? and has it not been for want of something of this kind, as much as from any perverseness towards the mother country, that they have applied themselves to manufactures? which, however trifling they may appear at present, owing to the dearth of labour, yet in time, nay in the lives of such as are now young, may be most grievously felt.

Now, as the generality of men follow their interest, it is hardly to be supposed, that these will be found an exception to the rule. Did we take our naval stores\*, such as iron, masts, timber, or a considerable part of them, from the Northern Colonies, would they not find it their interest to pursue that commodity, which we shall ever have so great a demand for; I say ever, *esto perpetuum*; for I hate that melancholly reflexion of our being no longer a nation; however “happy the people of England

\* All except hemp, the cultivation of that is reserved for the Ohio, owing to the particular nature of its lands; besides, if I remember right, the Reverend Mr. Elliot, in his Account of the improvements of husbandry in New England, tells us, that in that country it has been tried without success.



may be, when you tell them they are ruined."

If it be said, that to take naval stores from the Americans might interfere with our connexions with other countries, I answer, a considerable part of them; for naval stores and furs would be their natural staple. Thus their dependence and interest would go hand in hand; for what nation could take from them the quantity of naval stores that the English will constantly require?

The late disturbances arose first in these colonies, who feel their own independence more than they should: but would it not be otherwise, by having a staple which you were to take from them? Doubtless they would then be glad to observe another behaviour. The benefit of all colonies is the return they are able to make you; but if they are to become your rivals, wherein consists their advantage? This maxim seems to have escaped us, as the northern colonies have no staple for Britain.



Commerce in France has been a puny, tender infant ; a fondling of kings and ministers, born in the cabinet, and reared with the greatest difficulty, as witness their prodigious exertions in its behalf in the islands ; whereas with us, it is a hale, ruddy boy, very much left to take care of himself, relying greatly upon the strength of his constitution, being born in the open air, and nurtured with ease. Not that any one can say but that the child is a darling with us too ; only now and then he is apt to run out of sight, and put such as bare him affection in pain, lest he should come to some accident.

All our other colonies have their staples, some raw commodity to be worked up at home : the Northern Colonies deal in lumber and provision for the islands, but nothing to speak of for an English market, except furs ; their corn indeed comes to European markets, but that is a detriment to us. What so natural a staple for them as the one hinted, that of naval stores ?

Virginia



Virginia and Maryland have their tobacco, and have had it to carry to all the world these hundred years and upwards; the southern colonies upon the islands, as well as the continent, have their staples already; some few *addenda* might be mentioned for the latter, such as silk \* and the vine, and if more be wanted there are objects in abundance, which we may turn to, as may be seen in a very useful piece published by Mr. Ellis at London, of *desiderata* for the colonies in North America; the plants are all referred to their *genera* and *species* in the Linnean system, as well as their English names: it was reprinted at Philadelphia in the second volume of the North American Philosophical Transactions, published last year.

\* Silk has been made in Louisiana of the very best quality, by Madame Hubert, a lady of Provence, settled in this colony. It is unnecessary to extract the experiments which were executed; they were comparisons formed between the common worm found in the woods of this country, and the one known to us in Europe: the lady followed them with ingenuity and attention, her care was attended with success: This should be one grand object for South Carolina or the Floridas. Such as may have occasion to peruse them may find them in Du Pratt's Account of Louisiana vol. 1. p. 311.



The vine is most assuredly a proper object: Le Sieur de St. Pierre's scheme for the culture of silk and the vine in South Carolina, at the colony of N. Bourdeaux, from what I could learn, very highly merited encouragement; it is the most spirited attempt that has been made in our colonies towards introducing the vine culture effectually. May not this last become an object the more necessary, and does it not call the more loudly for our careful attention, on account of the behaviour of our worthy *Friends* the Portugueze? whose broad pieces, that used to be so frequent, are now vanished: They indeed seem to have accomplished what John V. so long ago thought of, that of retrenching the trade of the English. A very interesting conversation upon this head I must beg leave to add.

“ John V. King of Portugal, seeing with great concern, that the riches of the Brazils only made a temporary abode among his subjects, resolved to cramp the trade of the English, who obtained a very large share of them: His ministers agreeing with their master's ideas, thought the best expedient would be the prohibition of foreign manufactures;



factures ; and this had certainly been put in execution, if Lord Galway, the commander in chief of our forces in that country, had not prevented it.

This nobleman was a great favourite with his Portugueze Majesty, and was a very honest man. To him, therefore, as a friend, and under the strictest injunctions of secrecy, the king communicated the affair, and asked his advice about it. His lordship told him fairly, That the remedy would be worse than the disease ; that the same Providence which had given his subjects gold, had bestowed commodities and manufactures upon the English ; that the exchange therefore was not so injurious as he imagined, and that by prohibiting commerce he might force those, who were his best friends, to become his enemies, and to employ their naval power, which he knew to be so much superior to his own, in taking that by force for which they now gave a proper equivalent.

He farther represented, that, whatever turn the war might take, Portugal must  
always



always stand in need of the friendship of the English, to prevent becoming dependent upon the house of Austria or Bourbon \*, and therefore, that it was much better his subjects should trade with those, from whom they had so much to hope, than with other nations from whom they had every thing to fear. The king, who was both a reasonable and a just prince, and who in this business acted only from a laudable affection to his subjects, comprehended the force of these reasons, and laid aside his project; which, how plausible soever in its first appearance, was neither equitable nor practicable †." But *tempora mutantur*, and why not, *nos mutamur in illis*, if not by war, according to the noble lord's idea, at least by introducing the *vine culture into America*? For we here see that design in embryo, which seems approaching towards the birth in our time; but it remains with ourselves, whether it shall come to maturity: one step towards rendering it abortive, certainly is a good understanding

\* We well remember the last war, this has been verified within our own days, long after the Lord Galway's prediction.

† Campbell's Present State of Europe.



among one another, and there cannot be a stronger bond than mutual interest, wherein consists power and strength.

Now each becoming parts of one great whole, links of the same chain, to use the Indian phrase, let each hold it fast, hold it to the outstretch of the arm ; let us all endeavour to keep it bright as silver. Should the task be thought arduous, certainly we want neither heads nor hearts to perfect it, and preserve union amongst us. As it requires a more skilful and nice management to govern nations very highly civilized, than it does those who are rude and unpolished, or just emerging from barbarity, so the settling of colonies is a much easier business than the governing of them when become rich, and consequently powerful ; for power has ever been found in Plutus' train : In infancy and youth we bow to the will of our elders and superiors ; we then constantly feel the benefit of their succouring hand ; but when arrived at years of maturity, we begin to think for ourselves, and as we become tainted with the world, that implicit and grateful obedience, which  
we



we have hitherto observed, is too apt to wear off, and perhaps very many of us may be inclined to be refractory and obstinate; then is required the greatest address to preserve peace and affection. For differences will unavoidably arise, and should the interest of the parties chance to clash, that dire Fiend will most assuredly blow up the dying embers of variance and dissension, with unremitting ardour, till one, or perhaps both, perish in the flames.

Who, and what else but interest, has occasioned those feuds and jealousies for some time past? But could we get over this, all would be well again; perhaps a little wholesome advice or correction might be found necessary, but never violence should be used, if it could be possibly avoided: indeed such children as the Rhode Islanders deserved discipline, whose good dispositions the Admiralty were well apprized of years ago, by a worthy commander upon that station; and had their behaviour been nipped in the bud, it never would have produced (as it has lately done) that goodly fruit of disobedience and restless insolence. I am  
 sorry



ferry to touch upon so vile a subject: But  
 join interest with dependance, an alliance  
 very prudential, and we shall find that to be  
 the ready road to harmony, unanimity and  
 concord; like a family who have been at  
 variance, see their error, run to each other's  
 eager embrace, and cement a closer union:  
 No measure surely can be more agreeable to  
 their present gracious Father, whose only  
 wish is peace throughout his extensive do-  
 minions. It is thus colonies will continue  
 steadfast in their duty.

One word more; we have lost the Tur-  
 key trade, as have indeed the Dutch, and  
 both owing to the same cause, the unavoid-  
 able height of the taxes and excise both  
 nations are constrained to pay from expen-  
 sive wars and many other causes; with us  
 perhaps the knavery of some individuals  
 may have contributed to the evil, by send-  
 ing samples of the very best clothes, pieces  
 of which were ordered, but when they re-  
 turned to the market they brought the very  
 worst. Now who receives the benefit of  
 this? The French; who have long taken  
 the lead at the Porte from maxims of policy



as well as trade: They are first able to underfell you, and in the next place will take warning by other's harms. We see the Portuguese, our ancient friends, locked fast in the close embraces of the House of Bourbon; the Spaniards putting restraints upon your Manchester wares, and lastly taking that most extraordinary step, the exclusion of your ships from their ports.

Surely the rooted jealousy of France and Spain seems to wait for a fit opportunity to display itself upon the English: All these are cases in point. It therefore behoves us the more narrowly to look to ourselves and our concerns. John Bull may say with Shylock, "Nay, e'en 'take my life also, if you take the means whereby I live."

The appearance of your pendant occasionally in foreign ports, is very necessary; it gives your traders a consequence they would not otherwise have, and may protect them from occasional insults too trifling to trouble your Minister with at that court. We will only suppose for a moment, that this proscription, if we may so call it, was  
to



to become general throughout Europe, with regard to English ships of war; the strange effect it would have what man can tell.

These thoughts actually arose out of the subject; and therefore it is hoped cannot be looked upon as a digression, they appeared to be reasons, why we should cleave the more closely together.

We are now to consider the objects of trade with the western Indians, particularly those of the Missouri; for they are numerous, as appears from the best accounts we have of them: We are also to follow that idea of giving each colony a staple, by which they are to make their returns to Britain, a point never to be lost sight of in an establishment of this kind.

The first step then towards a trade with these Indians, is a fixed spot to meet at; and where shall we find one equal to the conflux of the Mississippi and Ohio? If we here build a fort, and as the colony encreases, a town, it will become for the trade of the western Indians what Albany is for the northern,



centers of two circles of a very extensive commerce; and should the French occupy this, or any other convenient spot, they will plague you with another Montreal, a second worse than the first; because it may be one whose resources will be infinitely superior to the first, owing to the great difference of the fertility of the soil, and preference in climate; and, that we may expect such an event, there is good room to think from the experience of the great advantages the French drew from that well-known post, whose loss they must wish to reinstate: As they become strong upon the Mississippi, is it not obvious to every man, that they will now and then have a struggle with their old competitors; and the means of getting strength there, if not by draughts of men from Old France, at least from Canada will not appear unlikely; in short there is in this more than a bare probability; for we have the authority of Du Pratz that the Canadians are numerous in Louisiana.\* It is very natural to suppose, that the French Canadians will be going continually

\* Vol. I. page 106.



to the southward, and that they would wish to live under the government in which they have been born and bred, rather than under our dominion, notwithstanding the very great difference between the mildness of the English constitution, and the rigour of the French; the glorious Liberty of the one, the nice and highly polished Despotism of the other. This is a partiality with which all mankind are possessed: The Don says, Sir, I have the honour to be a Spaniard, with the utmost gravity; the Marquis, I have the good fortune to be a Frenchman; while John is most heartily satisfied, that he is an Englishman every hour he lives.

It is this prepossession, joined with the beauty of the country, which induces the Canadians to undertake a voyage of upwards of two thousand miles against currents and cataracts, with painful journey on foot at the carrying places; it is this, which urges even ladies to trust their tender frames in frail vessels of bark to the tempting, smooth face of those lakes, now kind and inviting as Deceit herself, now dreadful and boisterous as Æolus clad in all his terrors: All these  
 dangers



dangers they brave to arrive at a country, which they esteem as a terrestrial paradise : moreover the ladies are very fertile in Louisiana Du Pratz assures us.

We see then, upon what grounds it is said, we should look towards Louisiana with an eagle's eye. For all emigrations from Canada, and settlements formed upon the Mississippi, must weaken the one, and strengthen the other ; it therefore follows that we should attend to this and guard against the evil to be expected. By occupying the post in question we make a beginning ; and a part of our design should be the intercourse before mentioned with these Indians of the Missouri, who are worthy our attention. For they are numerous, and from the best accounts we have of them, they have driven the French from all their posts upon that river, consequently the more we are interested to make them our steady friends ; " their country is almost entirely covered with buffaloes, elk and deer."\* How lucrative would such a commerce prove ? what advantages might we not

\* Du Pratz, Vol. I. page 116.



not derive from them, especially in furs? Buffaloes' hides we are not much acquainted with; yet how serviceable they are, may be judged, if what we are told be true, that the targets made of these hides by the Indians upon the borders of New Mexico, will turn a musket bullet. The quantity of tallow also to be obtained from these creatures is prodigious, upwards of a hundred weight; the price of which commodity, as well as that of hides, has been long complained of; and, if like all true sportsmen, they were to kill the males instead of the cows, which has been hitherto their constant practice to the great detriment of the breed, they would find their advantage in it; for they afford a greater quantity of tallow, insomuch that at present the fat males become the prey of wolves, being unable to escape with the rest of the herd from their unweildy bulk; but by this attention their increase would be favoured: their hides are much better than the females, the flesh also is excellent, the tongue and bunch might have been a dish for Vitellius. It would be proper to tell the hunters, you only wished them to kill the males. The natives



natives have a way of dressing these hides of buffaloes, with the wool on, to such great perfection as to render them more pliable than our buff: they dye them of different colours, and clothe themselves therewith. To the French they have supplied the place of the best blankets, being at the same time very warm and very light.\* Their wool also might surely become a very considerable object, which is of a very long staple and exceedingly fine; and to shew, that the opinion is not singular, it may be seen in F. Charlevoix.† “The women about Fort Chartres spin the wool of buffaloes, which they make as fine as that of the English sheep; nay sometimes it might even be mistaken for silk.”

Now if Indians can do this, whom we are apt to treat as unskilful and void of invention, what might be the result of this wool in the hands of some of our ingenious manufacturers of Britain; the hair of goats is employed in many works of price, and why not the wool of buffaloes; there is no rea-

\* Du Pratz, Vol. 2. page 50. † Vol. 2. page 222.



son that because it has not been, it may not  
 be. The trade of these Indians then may  
 be no despicable thing: observe their com-  
 modities are raw materials, to be procured  
 by hunting, in a country that abounds with  
 the object that you have in view; conse-  
 quently it may be had cheap. Add to all  
 this a numerous body of people, and no  
 friends to the French: But we have other  
 reasons for seeking new Indians. If our  
 commodities want a new market, which  
 many affirm, here is one however, which,  
 though it may not be very considerable, is  
 nevertheless deserving attention beyond all  
 question; for the misers saying, *Take care  
 of the farthings, they are the seeds of money,*  
 is true enough; so many small advantages  
 are the seeds of a plentiful crop. But if  
 it be true, that markets do fail, then is the  
 time to seek new; a trading nation should  
 never stand still for want of a resource, even  
 if it were to be sought in an unknown  
 continent to the southward; and that there  
 is such a one is the universal opinion of the  
 learned. Again, all the North American  
 travellers, which I have perused, concur in  
 the astonishing decrease of the Indians;

F

they



they are of the same opinion themselves, as may be seen by many of their speeches; this is very much owing to the use of spirituous liquors, as well as diseases, such as the small pox and venereal distemper. As to the first cause it is melancholy to think of its effects; the devastations it has occasioned are dreadful; pity that ever such a deleterious draught was introduced among them! For such is the infatuation of the natives of both sexes, that they never drink these liquors but for the sake of intoxication, nor ever quit the cask while one drop remains; would that it could be suppressed! Prevention however is better than cure; if they had not known them, they would not have wanted them; might it not be for the good of our intended colony, to forbid supplying our new correspondents with them? And surely one should think there was a necessity of seeking new Indians, as the old drop off; if your Indians decrease, it is high time to look out for others to trade with. Moreover there is another reason why you should do it, and that is the decrease of game also: It is the opinion of the very antient planters in the colonies, that  
game



game of every kind decreases; this I have been told myself; elk are almost annihilated in Canada; the Indians also complain of the decrease of game in many of their speeches years ago. All these reasons then shew the necessity of establishing a more distant correspondence, and the length of a journey is never any objection with an Indian; they will come to you as readily as we would go to dine at Rome: Nations unknown to us have come to Albany in abundance, as may be seen in Colden's account of the five nations; the western Indians would do the same to you upon the Ohio; this post would become the great mart of these parts: From the Missouri to the Wabache are reckoned an hundred leagues.\*

We are now to attend our colony in the cultivation of their staple; suppose hemp and flax: Our reasons for selecting these shall be shewn in the course of the enquiry; 1st. from the nature of its lands; 2dly. to

\* Du Pratz, Vol. I. page 206.



avoid interfering with the products of its neighbours.

F. Charlevoix says, "the lands are so amazingly rich, that wheat sown in them was so excessively rank as to run all to straw." All husbandmen agree, that wheat requires excellent lands; but these were superlatively so, too good for wheat; so much the better then for hemp, for it is well known that plant requires the best of soil. The reasons why hemp is assigned, may also be seen in our idea of interest and dependence;\* there is another reason which may have some weight. Du Pratz says, Vol. 1. page 269, upon the western side of the Mississippi he found, among many other plants, natural hemp, which grew like trees and very branched." This description, short as it is, is something uncommon, but if it be a hemp,† it may be a

\* If Virginia and Maryland planters remove to the southward, they will apply to tobacco beyond all doubt, and to the advantage of England it will be that they should do so, as will be seen; but it is our interest that the staple of the colony should be hemp and flax.

† I am inclined to think from this account it can be no hemp, we are acquainted with but one species of it.  
benefit



benefit to our colony; for why might not this be found upon the east side of the river, if it was properly sought after? Whether this plant be found or not, to introduce the culture of the one we are already acquainted with, must turn to a great account. By this and flax they will make a return to you for manufactures; whereas, in a great measure, at present you pay for these commodities in ready money.

The reason for hinting the culture of tobacco to the southward is this. In Louisiana they make two crops of tobacco a year, as observed by Du Pratz, Vol. 1. page 352. He also says, it bears a very high price: Now if this continues, they must in time run away with the market, because they will be able to give a better price for slaves, and its benefit will increase the number of planters. Our people are by law prohibited in Virginia from the cultivation of these seconds, and very proper the law is, founded upon the difference of climate; these se-

*Cannabis, quod vid. apud Spec. Plantarum Linnæi & Floram Virginiacam Gronovii*, neither of which mention any such appearance, but that matters not if it possess the same qualities.

conds



conds would not have time to ripen thoroughly in Virginia, consequently would depreciate your commodity with the merchants; but the fertility and benign climate of Louisiana, where the summers are three months longer, have no such impediment; therefore will be able to supply those who have been your constant chapmen; to this we may add their fresh lands, which will produce double the quantity of the old of our colonies, which indeed the planters begin to see by turning the farms to corn and cattle; if the French also give a bounty to ships going to the Mississipi, and our tobacco pays a heavy duty, they must gain this trade from us also, the only one remaining, which we possess entirely to ourselves.

Judge then, what reason we have to speak of the *consequence* of Louisiana to the French; they may become one of the most powerful colonies in the world; if so, they may in time also be able to drive the English out of America, hardly by arms, but more likely by trade. The advantages they possess in their islands are confessed.

Here



Here if it be asked, but will the establishment of the English upon the Ohio prevent their gain? We say yes. If not totally, yet in part, and perhaps in time entirely, as we stretch to the southward. The first step towards which, is the measure we have been all along debating. That the French look with a jealous eye upon our tobacco trade, may be seen by a piece entitled, *Essai sur les Interests du Commerce maritime, par M. du Haye*, 1754. It is only hands they want to make what quantity of tobacco they please in Louisiana.

Among other branches of OEconomics may be mentioned taming of buffaloes; for by that means their increase would be more within your command, than by the care to be observed in hunting them: This might be effected by having them young; their advantages have been already pointed out; and the taming of these animals is nothing new or difficult, for they are known in that state in many parts of the East Indies, where the natives drive them, and make them labour the earth, just as we do oxen. That there is no singularity in this notion will appear



pear, since the same thought occurred to F. Charlevoix, speaking of the post of Kafkasquias. "The climate is extremely temperate, lying in  $38^{\circ}.39''$ . North; cattle and sheep would multiply here wonderfully, even the wild buffaloes might be tamed, and great advantages drawn from a trade of their wool and hides, and from supplying the inhabitants with food." He might have added tallow; for some of these creatures yield a prodigious weight of it, often upwards of an hundred. Our colony then is peopled, fed, has its staple provided; it only remains that we should revise some other matters hinted at, and then conclude. Mines were mentioned.\* "Moreover, those high lands to the east of the Mississippi from Manchae to the river Wabache, may and ought to contain mines: We find in them, just at the surface, iron and pit coal, but no appearance of silver; gold there may be, copper also and lead." It might not seem wild to mention the making of salt petre: "All cloven-footed animals are extremely fond of salt, and it is supposed

\* Du Pratz, Vol. i. page 268.

that



that Louisiana in general contains a great deal of salt petre; (now by this *Louisiana in general*, he plainly understands the upper parts also, which are possessed by us) and therefore we are not to wonder, if the buffaloes, elk and deer, have a greater inclination to some certain places than to others, though they are often hunted. We ought thence to conclude, that there is more salt petre in those places than in such as they haunt but rarely." He observed, that after feeding, these animals seldom failed to go to the torrents where the earth was torn away, and even to the clay, which they licked, especially after rain, because they there found a taste of salt, which allures them thither.\* Again; "France fetches a great deal of salt petre from Holland and Italy; she may draw from Louisiana more than she has occasion for, if she once sets about it. Salt petre might here be made with all the ease imaginable, on account of the great plenty of wood and water." If I remember right, the King of Prussia

\* Du Plat, Vol. 1. page 272.



makes a great quantity of salt petre throughout his dominions, even in almost all the villages, and the peasants are forced to fence the banks, which are the matrix, from the injuries of cattle by licking them; they also are ordered to pluck out all weeds which spring: These words are expressed, or to the same effect in the edict upon that head.

Well, all this may be true; but what communication will our settlement have with the Atlantic? how is it to export all these commodities? This may be seen by the report of the Board of Trade in 1772, page 67, 71. It is a very convenient and cheap carriage: But should we not look further to the navigation of the Mississippi? which can be attended with no dispute, as this circumstance was settled, that is, the free navigation of this river, which was to be common to both nations, by the VIIth. article of the last peace, in 1763.

To recapitulate what we have been saying. The first reason to be assigned for settling upon this side of North America,  
is



is the establishment made by the French upon the western banks of the Mississippi and at New Orleans. 2dly. The great fertility of the lands upon the Ohio, the immediate object of our disquisition, and a future prospect to be kept in view of settling also upon the eastern banks of the Mississippi. 3dly. A trade with the western Indians. 4thly. Draughts of men which may be induced to quit the northern colonies, and fix upon new plantations; and lastly, new branches of culture, such as hemp, flax, &c.

Thus, according to the title page of this piece, it is hoped we have pointed out some advantages which Britain will immediately receive, and others in view, in consequence of our establishment upon the Ohio. If such are the reasons which a private individual is enabled to offer, one who has not the honour to be in any employment, consequently may be supposed to be the more unbiaſſed; if an individual can produce these from the narrow circle of private knowledge and information, certainly upon much better grounds must a statesman be supposed

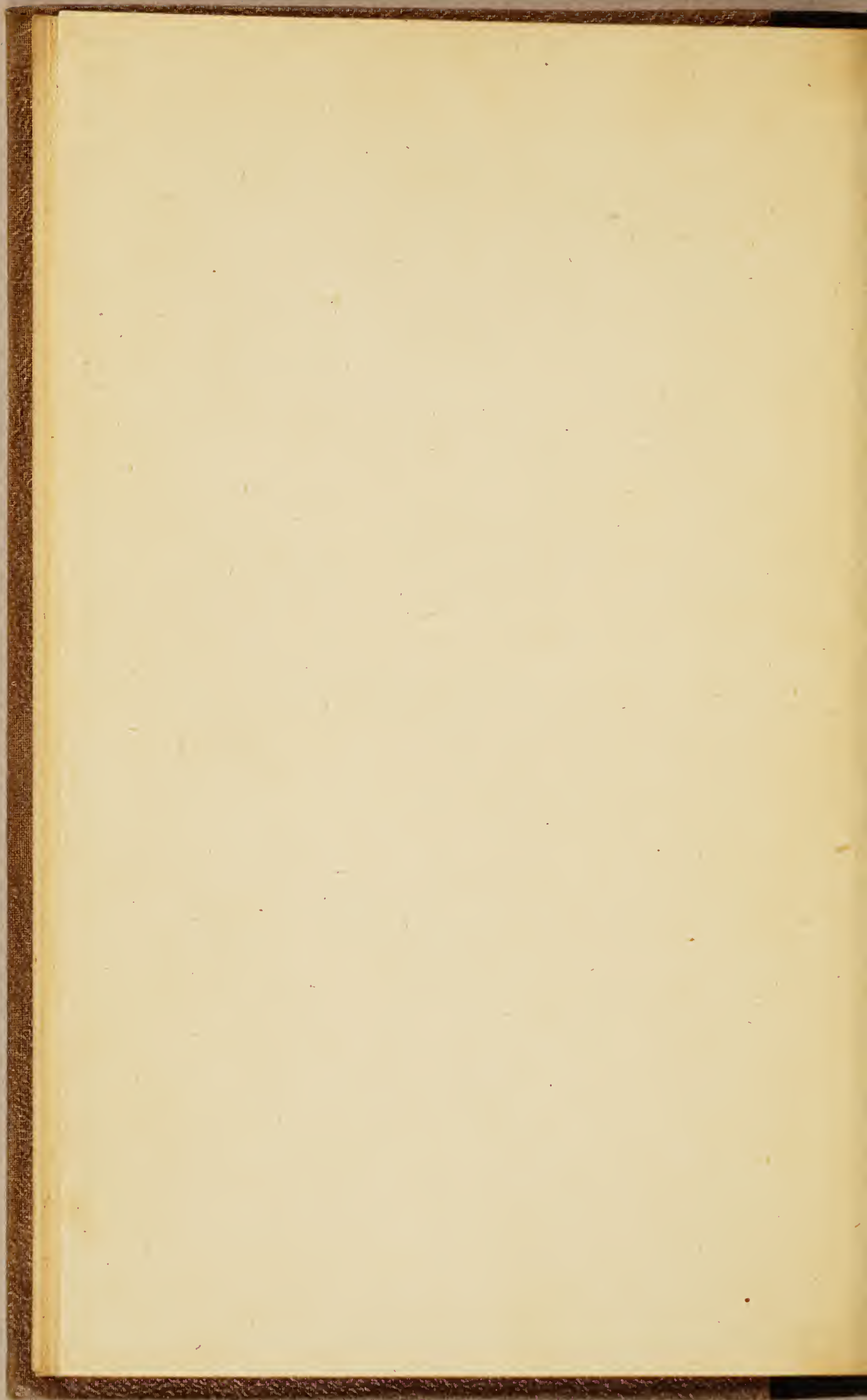


supposed to have proceeded, who has so many infinitely superior opportunities, lights which we are unacquainted with, to whose knowledge every man is willing to contribute, except such as have an interest in deceiving him.











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